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## BOOK REVIEWS.

PROGRESSIVISM—AND AFTER. By William English Walling. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914. Pp. xxxiv, 406.

A direct passage from capitalism to socialism has been a doctrine accepted by most socialist leaders. Not the least significant feature of Mr. Walling's book is repudiation of the dominant opinion and a substitution therefor of a view that there are four stages of social evolution: the first period, the rule of large capital and private monopoly, is nearly extinct; the second period, now present, is State Capitalism; the third period is State Socialism, rapidly advancing; the fourth period is Socialism proper.

The intervening stations between Simon-pure capitalism and genuine socialism are carefully distinguished. The center of attack is the period of State Capitalism or Progressivism, the age in which the small capitalist flourishes. The forces which have initiated and sustained the economic and political supremacy of the small business and professional men are recounted, the probable antecedents of State Socialism are detailed, and the anticipations of genuine Socialism in both eras are finally suggested. Although the author insists that his is a genetic way of approach, he contends that the several stages of societary evolution growing one out of the other are different in kind, not merely in degree (p. xi).

Since more than half the text discusses the value and limitations of the progressive movement, it is essential to understand what the author conceives to be the past and future of Progressivism. The reaction against plutocracy was started by farmers, shopkeepers, and humbler grades of capitalists. President Wilson is dominantly a champion of those who hope to set up in business for themselves; his solicitude is for "small but hopeful businesses." The logic of economic transformation has forced him, along with Roosevelt, Churchill, and Lloyd-George, to advocate a partial collectivism, primarily in the interests of the middle class. Old-age pensions and minimum wages may be secured for the wage-earning groups, but most of the ultimate advantage goes to the small capitalist and his allies. Satisfied, efficient, scientific labor is now indispensable; to superior organi-

zation as well as to a greater total of capital is due the victory of the small producer over big business. Whenever big business cannot be competed with or curbed, nationalization of the monopolistic industry is demanded. For this reason railroads, mines, and other utilities are bound to be nationalized.

Progressivism does not touch the fundamental problem of equitable distribution of the national income among the several producing groups. Wages of unskilled labor undoubtedly advance in consequence of progressive legislation. Notwithstanding, the *just proportion* of the benefit is not guaranteed or seriously contemplated by a government of small capitalists.

On the banner of the progressives is written, Equal Opportunity. This wholesome American ideal is embodied in legislation prohibiting gross economic privileges and monopolies, taxing incomes and inheritances, and securing universal suffrage. Political democracy is attained, and a greater degree of industrial democracy. Walling recognizes the permanent and positive value of these achievements. Nevertheless, he argues that equality of education, irrespective of social station, is not the aim of the progressives. The chapters (v, xvii) dealing with popular education are noteworthy. Claiming that the middle and upper classes only can give their children the training requisite for secure, decent positions, the writer inveighs against vocational education based on the notion of a fixed status for the "lowest" class. He says:

"It may be that the economic positions in society occupied by men and women who have now reached maturity are already to some degree distributed according to relative fitness, and that, even though this fitness is due, not to native superiority, but to unfair advantages and unequal opportunity, it may be that a general change for the better is impossible until a new generation has appeared. But there is no reason (except the opposition of parents who want privileges for their own children) why every child in every civilized country should not be guaranteed by the community an equal opportunity in public education and an equal chance for promotion in the public or semi-public service (which soon promises to employ a large part, if not the majority of the community). No believer in equal opportunity or democracy can see any reason for continuing a single day the process of putting the burdens of the future society beforehand on the children of the present generation of wage-earners, children as

yet of entirely unknown and undeveloped powers and not yet irremediably shaped to serve in the subordinate roles filled by their parents.

"Equal opportunity for children, indeed, promises to be the first principle likely to secure general acceptance which passes beyond the program of the 'progressives,' *i.e.*, the State Capitalists, or even that of the State Socialists" (pp. 106-107).

State Capitalism, however, fosters educated, scientifically managed adult workmen, both in private and public employment. In Australia, England, and the United States is foreshadowed the coming balance of power of the "aristocrats of labor." State Socialism means the domination, economic and political, of government employees and the skilled, protected aristocracy of labor. The American Federation of Labor; Macdonald, Webb, the Fabians of England; Hillquit, Berger, and many Socialists in America; Kautsky, Bebel, and the majority of the German party are reckoned among the "laborites." Chapters x-xv and six sections of the appendix analyze the currents of State Socialism. Widespread amelioration and the democratization of income, leisure, and education will characterize this period, but the flaw consists in the fact that the unskilled are still outsiders; privilege, discrimination, and restriction of full expression persist. Laborites seek to secure the favor and votes of reactionary parties in order to keep the balance of power which the unskilled masses hope to attain. Gradually they compromise their principles; even the noble and once cherished doctrine of the international unity of the working classes is abandoned. Evidence is adduced showing that on such fundamental issues as militarism, immigration, and exploitation of colonial laborers the laborites of Germany, England, and America have backed down. Hence a "fatal separation between theory and tactics" in the opportunistic politics of State Socialists.

The most conspicuous trait of State Socialism, therefore, is the struggle within the working class. Aristocracy of labor fights the claims of Industrial Workers and Syndicalists. In dealing with the transition to Socialism, Mr. Walling avers that the struggle will become increasingly unsettling and costly. For the rising intelligence of the masses will render them more adept in hindering industry. Scientific management is balanced by scientific sabotage! Skilled labor opposes sabotage and mass

strikes, yet for years, the author remarks, it has pursued a policy of restricting output and "soldiering on the job." Since government listens to its master's voice, skilled labor, the lower strata must fight on the economic field with sabotage and mass strikes.

What, then, are the distinctive traits of real socialism? The answer is: abolition of classes founded on economic position, income determined by serviceable contribution, thorough-going equality of opportunity, especially with regard to education (chapters xvi-xvii). Like other observers, Walling notes a recent tendency away from educational democracy, and he predicts that "if this right of higher education is given to a sufficient number of the people's children and if the large majority of occupations are under the civil service, then, indeed, not only the present ruling classes, but every ruling class and every privilege, would disappear within the present generation.

"And with this 'most radical of revolutions' in the distribution of education would come an equally radical change in its nature and quality, and so in the whole of our culture" (p. 315).

Candid admission of the respects in which the doctrines of Marx and succeeding socialists have not been able to fit all the facts is an admirable part of the empirical method espoused by the writer. Some of the changes may be marked: (1) Marx thought that private monopolies would increase, wages fall to a subsistence level, and the middle class be swallowed up. The prophecy has not proved true. Income has advanced, monopolies have been nationalized, and the balance of power has fallen to the middle class. (2) The founders of socialist economics taught the doctrine of the solidarity of capital pitted against the solidarity of labor. Some capitalists have turned out "good," and there has been a split within the working class due to level of income and opportunity. (3) The followers of Marx asserted that only the workingmen themselves would "set limits to the tyrannical usurpations of capital." The achievement of progressives without evident socialist pressure is ample rebuttal. (4) The zeal of early socialists lead them to deny that group consciousness of any kind could exist during Socialism. Walling says there will be groups or classes but not a hierarchy of ruling ones. In response to Roosevelt's trite dictum, "We are not Socialists, for we do not believe in class-consciousness," it is claimed that socialists may make the same plea. "We believe that the governed should be conscious of the fact that they are

governed by class-conscious rulers, who rule in their own interests and not in the interests of society. It is this class-conscious, class-ruled society that Socialists aim to abolish" (p. 321).

As to method, the author explains that he employs the genetic, evolutionary procedure characteristic of the prospective, constructive science of today. The new method is pragmatic, "beginning with an hypothesis and a plan for work" (p. xxi). "We are neither looking from the past into the present, nor from the present into the future, *but from the future into the present* (and chiefly perhaps as an exercise of the same faculty, *from the present into the past*)."

To the student of the logic of societary hypotheses the following is informing:

"In social science we are not in the least concerned then, with mere historical analogies, or with 'laws' that project or extend the past into the future, but are occupied wholly with projecting on the present a series of scientific hypotheses based upon what seems to be the probable future stages of social evolution. Pretending to no dogmatic finality, and leaving the field open to other hypotheses, to be similarly tested, the only justification of this method is its results" (p. xxii). The well-known forecast of economic and political mutations in America made by James Bryce in 1884 is referred to as an example of verified hypothesis.

Mr. Walling's mastery of the intricacies of contemporary politics is amazing, and the endeavor to disentangle and rearrange the threads of present and future development is bold, clarifying, and laudable, even if strict adherence to the pragmatic method may soon call for renewed hypotheses. How much, for instance, will the outbreak of an international war shift the social panorama?

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INTERMEDIATE TYPES AMONG PRIMITIVE FOLK: A Study in Social Evolution. By Edward Carpenter. London: Allen & Co., 1914. Pp. 185.

This is a perfect example of the scientific and speculative discussion of a subject which only of late years has met with anything that can be called scientific treatment at all. The